

POLITICAL FEATURE NO. 1-0072
EDWARD CONLEY

JANUARY 30, 1976

DETENTE -- ECONOMICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

ANNCR:

SHOULD A RELAXATION OF REPRESSIVE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES IN THE SOVIET UNION BE EXPECTED AS A BY-PRODUCT OF THE PROCESS OF EAST-WEST DETENTE? THAT QUESTION WAS DEBATED BY EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SCHOLARS AND OFFICIALS DURING A RECENT CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON. VOA'S EDWARD CONLEY REPORTS:

VOICE:

DETENTE MEANS DIFFERENT THINGS TO DIFFERENT PEOPLE IN THE WESTERN WORLD, INCLUDING THE SCHOLARS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WHO ATTENDED THE THIRD QUADRANGULAR (U.S., WEST EUROPE, JAPAN, CANADA) CONFERENCE SPONSORED BY THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN WASHINGTON.

TO SOME, THE MAGICAL WORD CONJURES UP VISIONS OF SOVIET INTERNATIONAL RESTRAINT AND A RELAXATION OF MOSCOW'S TOUGH DOMESTIC HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES ... VISIONS WHICH HAVE BECOME CLOUDED BY PRESENT DAY SOVIET ACTIVITIES. TO CONFERENCE PANELIST HELMUT SONNENFELDT ... THE STATE DEPARTMENT COUNSELLOR WHO RECENTLY VISITED MOSCOW WITH SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER ... DETENTE IS A POLICY OF DEALING WITH A GROWING SOVIET POWER TO REDUCE THE RISK OF WAR ... A POLICY THAT WILL TAKE TIME TO PRODUCE OTHER RESULTS, IF AT ALL.

TAPE: SONNENFELDT -- 1:37

"WE ARE TODAY IN A SITUATION WHERE SOVIET POWER HAS LEAPFROGED MANY OF THE BARRIERS THAT WERE SET UP IN THE FORTIES AND FIFTIES. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS A POWER THAT IS MORE VULNERABLE TO EXTERNAL INFLUENCE THAN THE POWER, AT LEAST AS PERCEIVED BY THE OUTSIDE WORLD, OF THE FORTIES AND FIFTIES.

TAPE:

(CONT'D)

NOW IT IS IN THIS CONTEXT THAT POLICIES OF A CERTAIN FORM OF COOPERATION IN THE MANAGEMENT OF MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS, POLICIES UTILIZING THE ECONOMIC ASSETS OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO HAVE SOME IMPACT ON THE MANNER IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION MAKES ITS OWN ECONOMIC DECISIONS. OTHER FORMS OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND THE SOVIET UNION ... IT'S IN THIS CONTEXT THAT THEY MUST BE SEEN. I DON'T THINK THAT ONE CAN EXPECT AT ALL ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGES IN THE SOVIET SYSTEM INSOFAR AS SOVIET VALUES, RESPECT TO HUMAN RIGHTS, ARE CONCERNED, UNFORTUNATELY. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THERE ARE CHANGES, AS INDEED THERE HAVE BEEN CERTAIN CHANGES, THEY ARE MORE LIKELY TO OCCUR IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHERE THE EXTERNAL WORLD HAS A CERTAIN IMPACT IN THE MANNER IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION CONSTRUES AND CONSTRUCTS ITS INTERESTS."

VOICE:

MOST OF THE PANELISTS AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AGREED WITH MISTER SONNENFELDT THAT THE EASING OF EAST-WEST TENSIONS IS A BASIC NECESSITY THAT NEED NOT AND PROBABLY WILL NOT SOON BE ACCOMPANIED BY FRINGE BENEFITS.

COUNTESS MARION GRAFIN DONHOFF, EDITOR AND PUBLISHER OF THE WEST GERMAN WEEKLY , "DIE ZEIT", SAID THE WORLD HAS BLOWN OUT OF PROPORTION THE POSSIBILITIES OF DETENTE.

THE SOVIET UNION MADE NO SPECIAL PROMISES, SHE SAID, "WE DELUDED OURSELVES."

TAPE: DONHOFF -- 1:15

"ONE MUST FIRST CLEAN ONE'S MIND IS THERE REALLY ... IS DETENTE ... HAS THERE BEEN AN AGREEMENT WHICH WE THE WEST HAVE WITH THE EAST? ACTUALLY IT ISN'T. I MEAN WE HAVE ... YOU HAVE SPECIAL AGREEMENTS SUCH AS ACADEMIC EXCHANGE, COOPERATION IN OUTER SPACE, CONSULAR REPRESENTATION TO BE EXTENDED. BUT THERE NEVER HAS BEEN AN AGREEMENT THAT COMPLETE CHANGE WOULD TAKE PLACE. FOR INSTANCE, THEY HAVE NEVER GIVEN THE IMPRESSION ... THE SOVIETS ... THAT THEY WOULD STOP SUPPORTING REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS AND LIBERATION WARS. THIS I THINK, ONE HAS TO BEAR IN MIND BEFORE ONE ASKS ONESELF HAVE THE SOVIETS CARRIED OUT THEIR OBLIGATIONS OR HAVEN'T THEY? I THINK THE OBLIGATIONS WHICH THEY REALLY SIGNED THEY HAVE, BUT THE OTHERS WHICH WE HOPED THEY WOULD THEY HAVEN'T. AND HELSINKI HASN'T CHANGED MUCH IN THAT RESPECT."

VOICE:

WITH THIS IN MIND, QUESTIONS WERE RAISED AS TO WHETHER THERE WERE WAYS TO INFLUENCE SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES -- IN PARTICULAR, THROUGH U.S. ECONOMIC PERSUASION. THE GENERAL CONCLUSION WAS IT IS NOT POSSIBLE. A FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. EXPORT-IMPORT BANK, WILLIAM CASEY, SAID HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT LINKING TRADE WITH HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES. (OPT) HE PUT IT THIS WAY:

TAPE: CASEY -- 1:03

"I THINK THAT IN TALKING ABOUT ECONOMIC DETENTE AND HUMAN RIGHTS THE REAL QUESTION IS HOW WE CAN EFFECTIVELY INFLUENCE SOVIET POLICY IN HUMAN RIGHTS. I THINK THE RECORD SHOWS THAT THERE ISN'T MUCH LEVERAGE IN TRADE AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS ... THAT TRADE AND CREDITS ... CREDIT POLICY ARE PARTICULARLY INEFFECTIVE IN AND HAVE LITTLE LEVERAGE IN THE ABSENCE OF A CONCERTED POLICY ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES. THE SOVIETS TODAY ARE ABLE TO PLAY EUROPEAN, JAPANESE, U.S. ECONOMIC POLICIES AND CREDIT POLICIES AGAINST EACH OTHER. SO THAT THE EFFECTIVENESS AND THE LEVERAGE AVAILABLE IN THE DENIAL OF TRADE EQUAL TREATMENT IS EXCEEDINGLY SLIM."
(END OPT)

VOICE:

MISTER CASEY ARGUED THAT LIBERALIZED RATHER THAN RESTRICTIVE AMERICAN TRADE AND CREDIT POLICIES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT PROVIDE THE LEVERAGE TO, IN TIME, AFFECT SOVIET INTERNAL POLICIES. BUT DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMAN CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI DISAGREED. MISTER ZABLOCKI STATED THAT ANY U.S.-SOVIET TRADE AGREEMENTS CANNOT OVERLOOK UNITED STATES CONCERN FOR BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS ... THIS AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO LAST YEAR'S CONGRESSIONAL ACTION WHICH LINKED A SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE AGREEMENT TO AN EASING IN SOVIET EMIGRATION POLICIES. THE SO-CALLED JACKSON AMENDMENT CAUSED A SOVIET CANCELLATION OF THE AGREEMENT. CONGRESSMAN ZABLOCKI HELD OUT NO HOPE FOR

ANY CHANGE IN CONGRESSIONAL THINKING IN THE MATTER,
ESPECIALLY DURING THE 1976 AMERICAN ELECTION YEAR.

STATE DEPARTMENT COUNSELLOR SONNENFELDT AND GERMAN
PUBLISHER DONHOFF THOUGHT DIFFERENTLY. MISTER
SONNENFELDT SAID CONGRESSIONAL TRADE LEGISLATION TOWARD
THE SOVIET UNION WAS TYING THE GOVERNMENT'S HANDS AND
DID NOT BENEFIT THOSE WHO WANT TO LEAVE THE SOVIET UNION.
COUNTESS DONHOFF SAID SHE SAW NO SIGNS OF THE SOVIET
UNION ... DESPITE CURRENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES ... GIVING
IN TO U.S. CONGRESSIONAL PRESSURE.

TAPE: SONNENFELDT -- 1:00

"I SAY WITH REGRET, THAT WHAT HAS HAPPENED SINCE THE EVENTS
OF A YEAR AGO APPEARS TO HAVE CONTRIBUTED NEITHER TO THE
LESSENING ... OF THE BURDENS OF THOSE WHO WISH TO LEAVE THE
SOVIET UNION, NOR HAS IT BEEN OF PARTICULAR BENEFIT TO
THOSE AMERICAN ECONOMIC INTERESTS WHO ARE INTERESTED IN
THE COMMERCIAL ASPECTS OF TRADE, NOR HAS IT PROVIDED US
WITH AT LEAST THE BEGINnings OF THE ORDERLY TRADING RELATIONSHIPS
THAT WE SOUGHT IN ORDER TO CONDUCT A COHERENT AND STRATEGICALLY
CONCEIVED ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION."

TAPE: DONHOFF --:52

"THE JACKSON AMENDMENT REALLY FINISHED THE BEGINNING OF WHAT
IS OFTEN CALLED DETENTE ... WHATEVER THIS MAY BE. BUT I
MEAN THE STATE IN WHICH MORE COOPERATION AND MORE TRADE
CONTACTS TAKE PLACE. THEREFORE I WOULD SAY, AS HAS
BEEN SAID AT THIS TABLE IN DIFFERENT WORDS I DON'T SEE
ANY ASSET IN TRYING TO LINK TRADE BLOCKADE, EMBARGOES AND
WHATNOT WITH THE HOPE THAT YOU MIGHT GET MORE HUMAN RIGHTS
IN A COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY NOT IN A SUPERPOWER WHICH JUST
DOESN'T ACCEPT PRESSURES LIKE THAT."

TEXT:

THE GENERAL CONCLUSION OF THE SCHOLARLY DISCUSSION
OF DETENTE, ECONOMICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS WAS THAT AN EASING
OF REPRESSIVE SOVIET INTERNAL POLICIES SHOULD NOT BE

LINKED WITH THE SPECIFIC AIM OF DETENTE ... RELAXATION OF TENSIONS AND AVOIDANCE OF WAR. ALSO, THAT TRADE OFFERS ONLY LIMITED LEVERAGE IN CHANGING SOVIET INTERNAL POLICIES, AT BEST.

ANNCR:

A REVIEW OF SOME OF THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE OF THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES. (OPT) THE CONFERENCE ALSO STUDIED GAINS BEING MADE UNDER EAST-WEST DETENTE ... PROGRESS IN STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS ... AND WHAT COULD BE A THREAT TO DETENTE ... SOVIET INTERFERENCE IN ANGOLA. WE'LL REVIEW THOSE SUBJECTS IN OUR NEXT REPORT ON THE THIRD QUADRANGULAR CONFERENCE. (END OPT)

GH/PBM